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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Reshaping Policy

EVER SINCE the Cuban missile confrontation, world leaders have increasingly recognized that disputes between nations cannot be resolved by thermonuclear weapons. One result is the test-ban agreement. Yet the arms race continues, as does the disarmament stalemate at Geneva. General de Gaulle proceeds with the development of his own H-bomb and of tests in the Pacific. The objective is to be able to negotiate with adversaries from effectual positions of strength.

When President Johnson told representatives of the building trades unions that there will be no nuclear war, he was happily expressing a widely held conviction. Adlai Stevenson would carry this a significant step further. At Princeton University he called for an end of wars with conventional weapons as well. And on Good Friday, underlining the interdependence of all the peoples of the world, Pope Paul declared that under present circumstances a menace to peace in one locality endangers all mankind.

Adlai Stevenson advocates a formula combining cease-fire and peaceful change which he believes to be superseding the earlier formula of containment. But he recognizes that the U.N.'s peace-keeping machinery has to be greatly improved if this method is to be successful. Larger funds are essential, and the refusal of France, the Soviet Union and others to pay their assessments to support U.N. peace forces causes severe financial stress. How, then, can such peace forces be expanded? The long-range hope is that participating nations will have contingents for the U.N. at the ready and eventually that there will be an International Police Force posted at strategically placed U.N. bases.

In the meantime what can America do to block the march of Communist imperialism? Senator Fulbright of the Foreign Relations Committee found the Senate chamber almost deserted when he addressed himself to this problem, but through the press his speech has provoked widespread discussion.

He would begin by analyzing the world situation as it is, country by country. His emphasis throughout was on realistic reappraisal of American attitudes and policies. This would lead, he believes to distinctions between those Communist States which threaten the security of others and States which do not. And he holds that there is only one China.

SENATOR FULBRIGHT greatly questions this country's attempts to obstruct trade with the Communist world in non-strategic materials. He advocates a realistic view of our inability to prevent our allies from engaging in such trade—which greatly reduces the effectiveness of an American boycott. This leads directly to the Cuba question where the Senator favors acceptance of the unpleasant fact of Fidel because of the lack of any feasible means of dislodging him.

On the matter of Cuba policy the speech produced the loudest reverberations. Defenders of the present United States policy insist that, even if the difficulties resulting from our economic pressure against Cuba do not succeed in toppling Castro, they prevent him from mounting a more extensive subversion campaign in Latin America. One factor that should be evaluated in any policy re-examination is the extent to which economic measures against Castro's Cuba may discourage other Latin American nations now heavily dependent on American aid from emulating him.

The Foreign Relations Chairman believes that the people of the United States must be prepared for unpalatable political developments in Latin America. He thinks that we should be educated to the point of becoming shock-proof and aware of our limitations in determining the internal governance of other countries. This is related to his severe criticism of a stance which involves such footless and damaging

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extremes as the virtually automatic application of piddling economic sanctions against England and France in retaliation for their trade deals with Castro Cuba.

A primary question is the extent to which it is true that the nuclear stalemate has actually distributed effective power in the world. Independence and dissension in both camps appear to indicate that such power is no longer monopolized by two nations to either of whom all other States must look for protection. Obviously economic power is much more widely distributed.

It is as champions of two rival politico-economic systems that the United States and the Soviet Union stand forth before the world. The extent to which anti-American demonstrations in country after country can be traced to Communist instigation supplies important evidence. Perhaps the least convincing of the Fulbright ideas is his attempt to reduce the rivalry between the two worlds and two concepts of man simply to a "conflict of interests."

Without expecting the developing nations to set up a system similar to that of the United States, we can still hope that they will achieve the basic human freedoms. And whatever flexibility and new American policies may emerge, they clearly can be rendered ineffectual by the failure to realize in practice our democratic ideals. Whether or not we meet such challenges as the human toll from automation, the decay of our cities and the continued denial of equal opportunity and civil rights cannot long remain hidden from the peoples of the world.

Major Defense Cuts?

IN THE April issue of *Foreign Affairs*, McGeorge Bundy, special assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, discusses with some concern the difficulty of keeping the arms race under control. It is not simply new technology and new fears that keep the spiral heading upward, he believes, but the momentum now built into the defense establishments.

"Military men in all countries," Mr. Bundy writes, "find it hard to approve any arms control proposal which is not either safely improbable or clearly unbalanced in their own favor. In the United States only a strong Commander-in-Chief with a strong Secretary of Defense is in a position to press steadily for recognition that the arms race itself is now a threat to national security." Not a new idea, certainly, but a sobering warning from a top White House aide. It overlooks another kind of momentum in world affairs—the "peace offensive" that is rooted in the hopes of the masses for peace, and that creates its own thrust that turns peace propaganda into concrete accomplishments; the test-ban treaty is, at least in part, the fruit of this counter-momentum. But Mr. Bundy confirms the fears of the many liberals who fear that because of the strains of the economy, the misunderstandings among the electorate and the inevitable empire-building in the U.S. defense establishment, an enormous braking action will be necessary to bring the arms race under control.

In the same issue of *Foreign Affairs*, former Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell L. Gilpatric expresses confidence that the brakes can be applied, with spectacular savings, and no diminishment of national security. He is not so confident, however, that it will be done. On the one hand he cites the pressure on the Soviet government to divert more defense monies for consumer goods, the expectation that the major American spending for missiles and for wiping out deficiencies in conventional army equipment will soon be behind us. His reasoning is that the increasing sophistication of existing programs will not require anything like the spending of the past few years, and will, in fact, allow dramatic cuts in the defense budget—if the nation is willing to make them. On the other hand, he cites the major reason why even so strong a national mania as economy in government usually washes over defense spending without any noticeable erosion: the fear that defense cuts will sap the national will to resist Communism is deeply rooted and very popular. The fear runs through the speeches of many a Congressman. Even those who show special delight in discovering each new case of boondoggling, mismanagement and excess spending in Washington, prefer to find it outside the defense establishment. The economy mania pales before the cold-warrior's belligerence.

Mr. Gilpatric's argument takes all this into account. Though he himself does not doubt that decreased tensions in the world should have an effect on arms spending, his prediction of defense cuts does not depend on a rosier world situation or any illusions about Communist aims. He points out that the defense reductions for fiscal 1965 were based on military thinking alone, and suggests that the same kind of thinking can reduce arms spending by 25 percent (of fiscal 1964) by 1970, while maintaining national security and actually providing a better mix of tactical weapons.

This would be a saving of $12.5 billion annually, or about twice what the anti-poverty campaign is expected to cost when it hits full stride. The linking of the poverty campaign and defense spending is perhaps inevitable. President Johnson was forced to make the connection when he chose to announce an economy drive in the face of the growing need for

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more, not less, government services and planning. The money could only come from the vast defense outlay, and the President suggested it was possible, on what seemed a very modest scale. Now Mr. Gilpatric's article indicates the transference of funds is possible on a far more realistic basis. The anti-poverty campaign is going to require massive government spending on a temporary basis. The illusion that it could be done effectively and cheaply was necessary incense to the household gods of economy. If one-quarter of the defense budget can be lopped away with the blessing of the Pentagon, the incensing can continue while the anti-poverty campaign—a national investment in wiping out a subculture—is put on a sound footing.

Easter Message

POPE PAUL continues to establish himself as a successor to John in spirit as well as fact. His Easter message, like so many addresses of Pope John, is marked with an exuberance, openness to the world and a respect for the individual conscience. Though stressing the triumph of Christ in the Resurrection, the message avoids any note of triumphalism. Easter is viewed not so much as the greatest feast of a stable community, but as a message to be brought into the world. The message is characteristically outward-looking and implicitly based on the same view that the progressives brought with them to the Council: the view of the Church as a small, essentially dynamic community that must come to grips with powerful forces and ideas that control much of the world today.

The Pope chose to stress the reasonableness of Christianity, and his invitation to non-Catholics—somewhat distorted by the headlines—was a plea to judge for themselves the message of the Church, the rationality of its doctrines, and its answers to the aspirations of men everywhere. He was careful too to praise the "sparks of light" in every religion. His conclusion was striking: a blessing for ex-believers as well as non-believers, certainly extraordinary in a Papal message.

The Bobby Baker Case

IN RECENT YEARS the country has had many—perhaps too many—Congressional inquiries. A little of the bad name of the free-wheeling McCarthy hearings and of the disreputable House Un-American Activities Committee proceedings has rubbed off on almost every such inquiry. For that reason the Senators charged with inquiring into the Bobby Baker affair may feel they can put an end to their inquiry with impunity; they may feel that the public has had its fill of hearing-room spectacles and that no protest will be heard if this one silently folds its tents and fades away. If this is indeed their notion, the public and the press should proceed to set matters straight for them. For no matter what the Senate Rules Committee now does, the Bobby Baker case is not over, by a long shot, nor should it be.

This is not to say that Mr. Baker is not entitled to his day in court. He is, and his right to keep silence lest he incriminate himself, as he did, is beyond question. But the Senate and the voting public is entitled to inquire into the precise manner a Senate employee accumulated what is said to be a $2 million fortune on a salary of less than $20,000 a year. If inside information can lead to this kind of profit-taking by a Senator or Senatorial employee, new legislation may be very much in order.

There is very little about the Baker affair to lessen an outsider's suspicions. A tax accountant says his signature was forged. An unexplained $40,000 is said to have been part of Mr. Baker's 1962 income. Mr. Johnson's confidential aide, Walter Jenkins, and another witness flatly contradict each other in sworn testimony on the subject of a purported kickback on a Johnson life insurance policy; Mr. Jenkins is not brought back before the committee to explain the discrepancy, and he makes himself unavailable to newsmen. Furthermore, the witness who wrote the life insurance policy on Mr. Johnson's life testifies that he gave the Johnsons a $500 stereophonic record-player at the suggestion of Bobby Baker; Mr. Johnson later describes this as a gift from "an employee of mine"—although in fact Mr. Baker was at least nominally an employee of the Senate.

In the face of all this, the Democratic majority of the Senate Rules Committee has adamantly voted down Republican efforts to pursue the investigation further. They rejected G.O.P. efforts to call more than twenty additional witnesses, including Presidential aide Jenkins. The Republicans have their own motives, of course; one would have to be completely naive to miss the political motivations of the Republican minority in this matter: they have every hope of coming up with another deep freeze or mink coat scandal to influence the coming election. Nonetheless, despite Republican mixed motives, the inquiry is being closed too abruptly and with too many questions unanswered. It may well be that the answers to these questions would, if forthcoming, prove highly embarrassing to President Johnson and the Democrats next November. Nonetheless, it is hard to see how they could be half as awkward as leaving these same questions cloaked in their present silence and mystery.

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The Triple Revolution

PRESIDENT JOHNSON puts in a terrible working-day, and no one should add to it arbitrarily. Yet I hope very much that he has found time to study "The Triple Revolution," a twenty-seven page document recently prepared and sent to him and Congressional leaders by such men as Gunnar Myrdal, the internationally known economist; Michael Harrington, author of *The Other America* and a frequent contributor to these pages; Harvard historian H. Stuart Hughes; Nobel Prize-winner Linus Pauling; W. H. Ferry of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions; Robert Theobald, economist and author of *Free Men and Free Markets;* and about twenty others writing under the title of "The Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution." The President may not find it cheerful reading, but it is the most succinct statement on our socio-economic problems he is likely to come across.

The first of the three separate but mutually reinforcing revolutions is the cybernation revolution. "A new era of production has begun. Its principles of organization are as different from those of the industrial era as those of the industrial era were different from the agricultural." This revolution has been brought about by the marriage of the computer and the automated self-regulating machine, which "results in a system of almost unlimited productive capacity which requires progressively less human labor."

The second revolution is that in weapons. "New forms of weaponry have been developed which cannot win wars but which can obliterate civilization. We [President Johnson? Premier Khrushchev? Mao Tse-tung?] are recognizing only now that the great weapons have eliminated war as a method for resolving international conflicts. . . . The need of a 'warless world' is generally recognized, though achieving it will be a long and frustrating process."

The third revolution is that in human rights, for which a universal demand is now clearly evident. The civil rights movement in the U.S. "is only the local manifestation of a world-wide movement toward the establishment of social and political regions in which every individual will feel valued and none will feel rejected on account of his race."

All these revolutions are related; indeed, it is their simultaneous occurrence and interaction which make necessary radical alterations in our attitude and policies. Negroes, for example, are demanding freedom *and* jobs, yet Negro claims to work are not being met and will not be. "The Negro is trying to enter a social community and a tradition of work-and-income which are in the process of vanishing even for the hitherto privileged white worker." Jobs are disappearing under the impact of machines which already have built into them the equivalent of a high school education.

In our society, job-holding is the general means through which income is received. In the Sixties unemployment has remained at or above 5.5%. For teenagers it stands around 15%, and for Negro teenagers 30%, with unemployment rates in depressed areas often in excess of 50%. At the same time present unemployment rates would be multiplied several times over, if military expenditures did not continue to absorb 10% of the Gross National Product. Yet military expenditures have now begun to be cut back, and to some extent at least this is due to the weapons revolution, to "recognition of the fact that nuclear weapons have eliminated war as an acceptable method for resolving international conflicts."

Here then is the problem. In the cybernated system of tomorrow, potentially unlimited output can be achieved by systems of machines which will require relatively little manpower. But as things now stand, the men who are displaced by the machine will become dependent on minimal and unrelated government measures—unemployment insurance, social security, welfare payments. Hence a very large proportion of our population will be living below the poverty line at a time when cybernation, because of its almost limitless capacity, will be quite capable of producing plenty for everyone.

The authors of "The Triple Revolution" have a whole series of suggestions. They propose such measures as an extensive program to build up our educational system, designed especially with the needs of the chronically uneducated in mind; public works, such as dams, reservoirs, playgrounds and the like, to the tune of $2 billion or more each year, based on the estimate that this would create three to four hundred thousand jobs; a massive program of low-cost housing aimed at a rate of 700,000 to 1,000,000 a year; development of rapid transit systems, urban and interurban; organization of the unemployed by unions—all proposals likely to raise Senator Goldwater's blood pressure way past the danger point. But first the members of the Ad Hoc Committee emphasize two important preliminary points.

For one thing, they say, we must now face the fact that the nation's economic destiny can and must be planned; in a society which has always believed only in planning by private corporations for private ends, this will take a real revolution in our thinking. Even more important, though, is recognition of the fact "that the traditional link between jobs and income is being broken. The economy of abundance can sustain all citizens in comfort and economic security whether or not they engage in what is commonly regarded as work." In short, to each according to his need. This, I suspect, will be the real revolution; if a Puritan society can adjust to this idea, we can adjust to anything.

JAMES O'GARA

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Numbers of Themselves Do Not Cause Poverty or Hunger

Food and People

ARTHUR McCORMACK

IT IS NOT only doctrinaire family planners, who think that contraceptive pills are more important than vitamin pills, who are concerned about the effect of the population explosion on food supplies. Sober demographers, economists and agriculturists realize that, in poor countries with subsistence economies, the more mouths there are to feed the less there will be for each mouth unless this race can be decisively won.

It is good to try to make an objective assessment of the facts about population growth and food supplies, for this subject has been bedevilled by exaggerations, special pleading, selective quoting of statistics and the dogmatism of amateur demographers, whose confidence is often in inverse proportion to their knowledge. At the same time we must bear in mind the difficulties that confront us. Underdeveloped countries have underdeveloped statistics, and population figures which look so imposing when given in detail may, for some countries, be merely a series of inspired guesses. One must bear in mind also the warning given by the U.N. Population Commission that trends change to such an extent that it is hardly safe to project for more than ten to fifteen years ahead. Nevertheless, the figures given below, which are taken mainly from U.N. sources—the best available—give a substantially true picture.

It is beyond question that this century has seen the human race grow at an amazing rate. In 1900 the population of the world was estimated at slightly more than one and one-half billion people. By 1950 that figure had reached two and one-half billion, and by 1962 it had passed the three billion mark. It is expected that another eight hundred million will be added to the population by 1975 and by the year 2000 the figure is expected to pass the six billion mark—more than twice the present figure.

According to the 1961 U.N. Yearbook, the population of the world is increasing at the rate of 1.8%. This means that every year there are 54 million more people in the world; every day there are 170,000 more mouths to feed; every second two more units are added to the human sum.

FATHER ARTHUR MCCORMACK, M.H.M., was editor of *Christian Responsibility and World Poverty* (Newman). His most recent book is *World Poverty and the Christian* (Hawthorn).

It took the human race from the beginning of time to 1650 to reach its first 500 million inhabitants; this figure is just about the amount of *increase* in the twelve years between 1950 and 1962. From 1650 to 1950 an increase of 2000 million took place. Demographic calculations assure us that if the present world population were to grow indefinitely, even at the former slightly lower rate of 1.6% annually, there would be approximately 6.5 billion in 50 years, 15 billion in 100 years, 82 billion in 200 years, 440 billion in 300 years.

THESE ARE, of course, completely unreal mathematical projections, at least as far as the latter figures are concerned. There is no reason to suppose that present rates for population growth will continue, and there is no solid ground to plan so far ahead as two or three hundred years.

Nevertheless, leaving aside anything but the present and the immediate future, it is obvious that this very great increase occasions very grave problems. There have been population increases in the past but never on such a scale. This fact, plus the fact that the effect of population increase is compounded, gives us every reason to say that we are dealing with a completely new phenomenon, a phenomenon caused by the fact that a large measure of death control has been achieved by medical and hygienic measures in countries with a previous very high death rate, while the birth rate has remained high.

Futhermore, there are two factors which make the situation more serious still. This increase is taking place mainly in the underdeveloped countries of the world, and, unlike other population expansions, it is taking place before these countries are ready to absorb it. Therefore the lessons of the past are not completely adequate guides in coping with the present problems.

But it is not mere numbers that are aggravating the problem. It is the *rate* of increase which makes a grave situation still more grave in the poorer countries. Africa will double its population by the end of the century, Asia will treble its population in the same time, while South America will face the twenty-first century with nearly four times its present number of inhabitants. Such rapid expansion would bring great problems even for developed countries which, however, do not have to face

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such a rise in numbers. By 2000 A.D., North America's population will not even have doubled, and in Northern and Western Europe for every 100 people in 1950 there will be only 135 in 2000 A.D.

ALTHOUGH these figures highlight a serious situation, there is, I submit, no cause for panic or for the panicky measures sometimes advocated by eminent men, distinguished in other branches of learning than demography or agriculture or economics. First of all, it must be noted that there is no such thing as global overpopulation. The number of people per square mile in the world as a whole, even excluding deserts, forests, mountains, and Arctic wastes, is only 78 (England has 752). Indeed, many areas of the world are underpopulated; most of Africa, South America, as well as Canada and Oceania. Even the United States has only 10% of the population density of a number of European countries.

Furthermore, numbers of themselves do not cause poverty or hunger, as is sometimes supposed. Most of the prosperous countries of Western Europe have populations whose density is double that of India (which indeed is not in the first twenty-five countries in the Demographic Yearbook's listing of number of people per square mile) and other countries whose population problems are regarded as alarming. Moreover, black spots in the world population picture, such as parts of the Caribbean, Mauritius, and Hong Kong, are often stressed out of proportion to give an impression of a whole world faced by the problem of too many people and not enough food.

The fact is, of course, that numbers without relation to space and food are virtually meaningless. One person in one square mile of the desert might not have enough food: it would be ridiculous to call the area overpopulated. The surpluses which the U.S. has built up—and Western European countries are building up—show how the population expansion could be beaten, how the relationship between food and people can have a positive issue.

What is the present situation with regard to world food supplies? In the richer countries, there is a problem of surpluses caused by the application of science and technology to agriculture, resulting in an ever-decreasing acreage supplying an ever-increasing amount of food with ever-lessening manpower. This proves that, objectively, the world can feed its peoples and any increase in them in the foreseeable future. Hence from this point of view the population scare is unrealistic and unscientific.

But the poorer countries, the developing countries—to give them a more hopeful and less hurtful title—are only just keeping level, and in some cases are falling slightly behind in the struggle to increase food supplies at the same rate as the increase in the number of people. There are, it is true, hopeful exceptions which form a model for economically and agriculturally backward countries. Austria, Japan, Mexico, Israel, Greece, and Yugoslavia, for example, are all winning the race with ease. But to be fair, Mexico is the only really relevant case (and perhaps also Yugoslavia) so far as we are concerned. (The other countries are either too advanced to be considered—such as Austria, Japan and Israel, a special case—or like Greece which, although poor, is not subject to great population pressure with a natural increase in population of only 0.9%.) In the last decade, Mexico had a population increase at the rate of 2.9% but had agricultural production increasing at the rate of 7.3%; Yugoslavia had a population increase of 1.3% and an agricultural production increase of 7.3%.

Nevertheless, in many parts of the world the picture of the underdeveloped countries with regard to food production is a gloomy one. The Third World Food Survey which all experts accept as authoritative (at least so far as actual hunger is concerned) says: "Presenting the results of under-nutrition and malnutrition for the world as a whole, the survey concludes that 10%-15% of its people are undernourished and up to half suffer from hunger or malnutrition or both." And it goes on to say that by 1975 world food supplies would need to be increased by over 35% merely to sustain the world's population at its present unsatisfactory level of diet. To give a reasonable improvement in the level of nutrition in the less developed areas, food supplies will have to be increased by some 80% in the next twelve years and those of animal foods by over 120%.

It is no wonder that some people feel that the position William Vogt warned about in 1948—too many people and not enough food—has been reached and that they turn to drastic birth control policies as the panacea or, at least, as one remedy for the plight of the hungry millions of the world. A corollary often drawn is that the Catholic Church, in forbidding artificial birth control, sterilization and abortion is condemning these people to forego the means of relieving their misery. This attitude seems very plausible, as all over-simplifications do, and a Catholic combating it on social or economic grounds lays himself open to the charge of special pleading. On the other hand, Dr. John Rock's Malthusian

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diagnosis that rampant population growth actually obstructs efforts to increase production and lessens the per capita food supply and his plea for a population policy to cope with the problem seem to many an objective assessment and the reaction of a broad-minded and liberal Catholic, not too affected by the "obscurantist" ideas of Catholic theologians.

THERE ARE, however, two separate issues here which are often confused and which deserve consideration. First, is a policy of family planning to meet population pressures morally allowable? Second, will it help in the present situation?

With regard to the first point, in spite of popular belief outside the Catholic Church and in some circles inside it, the Church does not believe in "an ungoverned state of unwanted births." The Church believes in responsible parenthood, not in the narrow sense of family planning by contraceptives, but in the sense that parents are responsible for the procreation and bringing up of their children, that the passing on of new human life is a sacred privilege to be exercised in a human rational way, not merely dependent on the blind force of instinctual urges.

Catholic teaching, if loyally adopted, cannot possibly lead to an excessive and haphazard population, for the Catholic husband is taught, provided the moral law on marital relations is preserved, to exercise self-control in marriage, not to over-tax the strength of his wife nor to procreate more children than he can hope to educate and rear healthily and to make suitable provision for every child, so that all his children may become healthy, vigorous and loyal citizens. In this sense, then, the Catholic Church would allow support for a population policy.

Before approving of any one particular policy, however, it would be necessary to show that such a policy is necessary, useful, superior to other means, practical and does not perpetuate social injustice. On these grounds the answer to the second question—will it help the present situation?—is, on the whole, negative. I cannot recall offhand any economist, serious demographer, or social scientist who believes that any policy of population control will have much impact in the next vital ten or twenty years. Indeed, leading English and American economists—even those who strongly believe in birth control—are skeptical of the possibility of rapid results.

At the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief Conferences in July/August of 1963, Sir George Allen, Secretary of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, said that birth control would probably have little effect on population pressures for another thirty-five to forty years. Professor Glass, an enthusiastic supporter of birth control, has gone on record as saying: "Clearly far more work needs to be done, and equally clearly, until we have the results of this work, it would be unwise to base policies for economic and social development upon the assumption that fertility levels in the underdeveloped countries can and will be greatly modified in the very near future. A very realistic program for international action in the field of development would need to allow for the continued increase of world population for a sizable period at around the rate of 1.7 per cent [the rate when he wrote this] or higher." Andrew Schonfield, Barbara Ward, Ritchie Calder, Paul Hoffman, Sir Arthur Rucker, are just a few of the experts who would agree with this.

Pace Dr. Rock, we do not yet have a pill which is cheap and proved to be safe from the long-term viewpoint for an immediate campaign for population control. The experiences with conventional contraceptives in Puerto Rico, Japan and India (whose natural rate of increase has gone up from 1.3% in 1953-57, to 1.8% in 1959, to 2.2% in March 1961, in spite of huge expenditure on family planning measures) are neither hopeful nor edifying. Indeed, development plans are based on the reasonable assumption that population growth will continue.

HOWEVER, an agricultural revolution *is* needed. This is perfectly possible and is of much higher priority. The reason for world hunger is not, primarily, numbers of people, but backward agriculture in many parts of the world.

Over-reliance on population planning poses not only moral problems (when this is projected with means such as abortion, sterilizations and contraception) but also the danger that this planning will become either a substitute for or even an obstacle to positive measures. This is not an unfounded fear, as is evidenced by the fact that Freedom from Hunger workers have been met with refusal to help because of the belief that what is needed is birth control.

Over-reliance on population planning can bolster selfishness or apathy on the part of rich countries which in this way may seek to justify dragging of their feet on the problem of world hunger. Thus there has been a playing-down of the possibility of rapid agricultural progress and an exaggeration of the amount of actual hunger in the world. "Two out of three people in the world go to bed hungry," for example, is a slogan which is simply not true; the real figure is nearer one out of seven, as we have seen. No one wishes to minimize this terrible scandal of our age (10%-15% of the world population means 300 to 400 million hungry people) but even such a heart-rending situation must be truthfully portrayed and shown to be what Sir John Russell calls it, "a manageable problem."

I submit that a positive policy of agricultural and economic improvement—a veritable agricultural and economic revolution—is so imperative that all our efforts should be concentrated on it for the next two or three

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decades. All experts agree that hunger and poverty can be wiped out in this century, but to do this great faith and hope and charity will be required. The negative thinking of population planners is not conducive to this.

In the preface to his latest book, *World Without Want*, Paul Hoffman points out: "The pressure of demand today is so great that we cannot wait for the slow development which was characteristic of most of the industrially developed world. Such progress is possible. There are available in almost all the underdeveloped countries the human and physical resources which, if effectively used, would assure better lives. The overwhelming share of responsibility for the economic and social progress of any country rests with the people of that country but they must have our help. And there are tremendous new allies on our side in the struggle. Science and technology have given men exciting new tools with which to improve their lives, just as they have opened up new avenues to the stars. Our knowledge and our aspirations have brought within reach the capacity to create, in freedom, a world without want."

Nor does Paul Hoffman envisage a world-wide campaign for birth control as a prerequisite for realization of this wonderful vision. After very moderate and sensible suggestions with regard to population control, he says: "It will obviously take a long time even in the most favorable circumstances for any serious impact to be made in the problem of excessively high rates of population increase. This makes all the more urgent the job of accelerating the pace of economic growth and social advancement in the underdeveloped world."

War must be waged—an all-out war—on underdevelopment if this vision is to be realized, and, of course, it cannot be waged on one sector alone. But it is important to stress the importance of agriculture and increased food supplies in this advance. As Dr. Sen, Director-General of F.A.O. has so wisely said, the ultimate solution to the problems of poverty must be sought in an integrated approach to the balanced development of underdeveloped countries. It should be recognized that agriculture is a key sector in such development.

Sixty to eighty percent of the people of the underdeveloped countries derive their livelihood from the land. Agriculture must provide food for the people and a margin to start a process of capital formation. Therefore to increase food supplies has a double effect. It means that people will be able to eat more and better food and it means that the general economic revolution will be helped on.

WHAT of the future? Dr. Rock's pessimistic assessment from some United Nations statements is based on the experience of the past. But this *need* not be the true picture. Since the Second World War, great knowledge and technical experience have been accumulated by the F.A.O. and by other agencies to fight hunger and want.

Perhaps the best appraisal of the outlook for the future came last year from the World Food Congress. The Congress drew attention to the fact that the dimensions and urgency of the problem of hunger have increased tremendously since 1943; that the conditions of the rural masses in many countries have deteriorated and social injustice continues to hamstring the efforts for progress in many lands; and that at the international level the effort which is now being made is certainly a multiple of what was being done; but it is small in relation to needs and small in relation to what could be done.

"Yet at the same time," Charles H. Weitz said, "there is, below the surface, a stirring of forces which can transform the scene. It is these forces which distinguish the climate of 1943 from that of 1963. In the first place, we now have the certainty of possessing the knowhow for abolishing hunger and malnutrition. . . . Secondly, there is now a much greater awareness of the existence of world hunger. What is more important, the consequences of the growth of inequality, of the growing misery of the developing countries and of the ever-increasing enrichment of the rich, are now better realized. . . . It is now realized by public leaders, by men of good will everywhere and by the rising elites in the developing countries that peace and war will be determined by the outcome of the race between population and resources. . . . It is not astonishing, therefore, and this is the third major difference between 1943 and 1963, that it has become the established policy in the developed countries to extend assistance to countries in the process of development. . . . The time may not be far distant when a system of progressive international taxation, similar to that which applies on a national scale, will be regarded as a logical development even if for juridical reasons it may be termed contribution rather than taxation."

This summary by Mr. Weitz should be read in conjunction with the inspiring words of Barbara Ward in the 3rd Gilbert Murray Memorial Lecture delivered at Oxford on July 30th of 1963: "But perhaps these technical points are less important than the will to carry such a program out. It will take fifty years at least. Have we faith and vision to stay with it? Do ploughshares mean more than swords? Do we consider the remaking of mankind's precious 'inner space' as vital as exploring outer space? We *can* re-create the face of the earth. The means are there. What so far is lacking is the vision and the will."

A world without hunger and want. That is almost within our grasp. I hope a clarion call will come from the Vatican Council calling on Catholics, Christians and all men of good will to make this vision a reality. If we hesitate before the sacrifices or the effort involved, we may remind ourselves that history will judge actions, not alibis, and that Christ will say to each one of us at the Last Day: "I was hungry. Did you give Me to eat?"

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Still the Harvest of Shame

FAY BENNETT

THANKSGIVING evening, three years ago, millions of Americans were shocked out of their traditional holiday euphoria by the television documentary, "Harvest of Shame." This showed the migrant farm workers—men, women, and children—crowded in ramshackle trucks and buses for thousands of wearisome miles as they made the trek for seasonal work up the Eastern Seaboard. It showed them living in abandoned chicken coops and other makeshift shelters in east coast states; living with only the trees as protective shelter in lush California; toiling together for long hours in the sun to gather the grapefruit and celery, the onions, potatoes, and tomatoes that were gracing our festive board. This harvest of food we eat in such marvelous variety and plenty is still a harvest of shame, plucked from the hands of weary children, mocking in its abundance the frugal fare of beans and grits of those who pick and dig and cultivate.

"Harvest of Shame" was not the first exposé of the misery in which the rest of us permit the migrants, these hundreds of thousands of excluded Americans, to live. An estimated 150 attempts have been made in this century to study and explain the sorry lot of farm workers. Official government studies date back at least to 1909, when President Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission found conditions among farm workers shocking—fifty years before they appeared to shock us again on the TV screen.

We have been well, and often, informed. In the 1930's, the public was reading *Grapes of Wrath*, and the Congress was listening to reports of the LaFollette Senate Committee about tyranny and misery on the corporate farms of the nation. Further Congressional inquiries followed in the forties, and as that decade turned, there broke the "wetback" scandal with hundreds of thousands of Mexicans being used illegally to toil in the fields under near-slave conditions (usually after having crossed the border by wading or swimming the Rio Grande).

In 1951 the most comprehensive report ever made, *Migratory Labor in American Agriculture*, was issued by a distinguished commission appointed by President Truman. The report's recommendations created some public interest but little action. In 1954, President Eisenhower created the President's Committee on Migratory Labor, an inter-departmental committee of Cabinet members, to plan for and coordinate measures to alleviate migratory farm labor conditions. That same year Congress provided for limited Old Age and Survivors' Insurance coverage, the first and only social security legislation for farm workers, which went into effect the following year.

Late in 1958 a National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, made up of prominent citizens, was organized as a non-profit, voluntary agency to gather and publicize the facts about farm labor to help concerned citizens act on behalf of these fellow Americans who had no political or economic power of their own. In February, 1959, the Committee held public hearings in Washington, D.C., which awakened and crystallized public opinion on major problems: the endless supply of cheap foreign farm labor; the deliberate exclusion of farm workers from social legislation; the special needs of their children if poverty were not to be perpetuated in the next generation.

At these hearings, the then Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell promised to give these problems top priority, and his department later produced a two-volume study of a minimum wage for agricultural workers. This study is no doubt gathering dust on legislators' shelves. Labor officials also promised full support despite the unhappy history of abortive organizing efforts in this field. In California, an AFL-CIO organizing drive was launched, and continues with some slight success.

Congress, too, showed new interest. A Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, formed under the vigorous and able chairmanship of Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., of New Jersey, toured the country holding hearings on migratory labor conditions and problems, and drew up for presentation to Congress a series of bills. These gained bi-partisan sponsorship in both houses of Congress, the unanimous and enthusiastic support of the President's Committee, and the backing of religious and labor groups. Yet, despite the overwhelming evidence of deprivation and need of farm workers, and the obvious justice of the legislation to aid them, only one bill passed the 87th Congress and was signed into law. This was the Migrant Health Act, designed to stimulate and help finance local health programs for migrants. Another bill still pending in the health field would finance sanitary facilities for migrants.

That health is a special problem for farm workers,

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brought about by their terrible poverty and unhealthy living conditions, could be expected. The American Academy of General Practice has estimated that there are nearly five times as many cases of amoebic dysentery among migrant children as among urban children; nearly four times as much whooping cough; and nearly 44 times as much diarrhea.

Decent housing is of course a basic need of farm worker families. Recent housing measures have begun to include assistance for this group. Here, leadership and some stability among the farm workers is essential if they are to take advantage of these provisions to build their own homes. The writer knows of only one area where this is being done; this is in Tulare County, California, where farm workers have settled down in a fringe community and where help from Friends Service Committee staff has provided a needed spark. Other housing bills are pending which would offer loans, loan insurance, and rapid tax amortization for low-cost housing for farm workers. These would primarily assist growers to build housing for their seasonal workers.

TWO MEASURES which would aid and stimulate better education for the children of farm workers have passed the Senate but are still before the House Committee on Education and Labor. One would assist the states in meeting the costs of educating migrant children and would include pilot projects in the education of adult migrants. A second would provide matching funds for states to establish and operate day-care centers for preschool migrant children. Since all adults in a migrant family work, children are sometimes taken into the fields with their parents and sometimes left in the care of older children.

Scenes like the following reported by a horrified grower are not uncommon and show how great is the need for services to migrant children: "Not too long ago, I noticed a farm worker's car parked beside the road, not more than a mile and a half from where I live. Do you know what I found inside that stifling car? Three little children. The youngest, a baby not more than a year old, was screaming from pain. The flesh on the lower part of his body was raw because he had diarrhea and had been soiling himself all day without being cleansed or changed. The next oldest, a youngster about three or four years old, was burning with the highest fever I have ever felt in any child—and I know something about children, because my wife and I have six of our own. The third child was a little boy of perhaps five or six. He was unconscious and very nearly dead. Would you like to know why those children were in that car? The parents were in a nearby orchard, picking cherries so that Americans could enjoy that luxury fruit at their breakfast tables, or on top of their banana splits, or in their Manhattan cocktails."

Child-care centers could prevent such tragedies of neglect and would help free older children for much needed schooling. As might be expected, children of migrants are usually years behind their age-grade level, drop out early, and do not acquire the education and training necessary to qualify them for occupations better than the unskilled labor of their parents.

The bi-partisan package of farm labor bills also includes a bill to provide for federal registration of crew leaders (under whom most migrants travel and work) as a check on their frequent exploitation and abuse of workers; a bill that would set up a fifteen-member National Advisory Council to advise the President and Congress about the needs and functioning of laws, regulations, programs and policies concerned with migrant workers; and a Voluntary Farm Employment Service Act which would stabilize the supply of domestic workers recruited through the Employment Service by providing fuller employment, scheduling the movement of workers to coincide with crop needs, arranging, transportation, and guaranteeing minimum standards for workers. Some training of farm workers is also provided for in this legislation. While most of these provisions have long been a part of the *bracero* program (P.L. 78) through which growers are permitted to import Mexican farm workers, legislative authority to establish these reasonable arrangements for domestic workers has been bitterly fought by the big growers' associations.

Up to now, we have dealt primarily with legislation which would help mitigate the special evils of the poverty-stricken existence most farm workers endure. More basic are the measures to end their present exclusion from social legislation that has for decades covered most other American workers. These are minimum wage and unemployment insurance coverage, workmen's compensation, control of agricultural child labor, and the guaranteed right to organize and bargain collectively.

So long as adult farm workers cannot earn a living wage, the pressure to keep their children working, legally or illegally, will be almost beyond remedy; but their labor can at least be regulated and restricted. Nobody knows exactly how many child farm workers we have, nor how many follow the crops with their parents. However, a 1961 report of the United States Census Bureau indicated that of a total of four million persons employed in farm work, nearly four hundred thousand, or ten percent were children between the ages of 10 and 13. No figures are available for children under 10. One of the Williams bills would amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to restrict the employment of children *outside* of school hours to those over 12, and would regulate the employment of those from 12 to 14 working in commercial agriculture. Children working on their parents' farms are not included in this provision. Present federal law prohibits children under 16 from working in agriculture only *during* school hours. Some state laws do restrict agricultural child labor outside school hours,

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but in most states a child of any age is permitted to work in the fields, and children as young as 6 and 7 have been found thus employed.

The all-important measure dealing with income seems unfortunately furthest from adoption, at present, although it would only gradually (over a period of four years) raise farm workers' wage rates to the national industrial minimum. In 1962 the average annual income of farm workers and non-farm work combined was only $1,164; for migrants it was $1,123. But it takes $4,000 "to place the multi-person family above poverty in the American context today," according to the Conference on Economic Progress.

Another very important bill would amend the National Labor Relations Act to extend collective bargaining rights to agricultural employees. Their present exclusion makes for an intolerable situation, for even when a majority of the workers in a field become organized—a difficult task at best—an employer need not bargain with them nor recognize their union. Yet the big growers who hire most farm labor are themselves powerfully organized and maintained what former Labor Secretary Mitchell called "the toughest lobby" he ever faced. Workers in industry made their real strides towards union organization and decent wages when they obtained federal protection of the right to organize and a federally guaranteed minimum wage. Now, thirty years later, the farm workers on our large farms desperately need these same rights and protections if they are to enter the mainstream of American life.

WHILE the federal legislation included in Senator Williams' "package" is urgently needed, these measures would not meet all the needs of farm workers and their families. As the President's Committee on Migratory Labor pointed out in its 1960 report: "Workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, the provision of health, education and welfare services, and regulations for housing and transportation, are, for example, primarily state responsibilities."

Thus, although unemployment insurance for most workers is provided on a basis of federal cooperation with the states, every state, with the single exception of Hawaii, specifically excludes farm labor from coverage under its unemployment insurance laws. Yet their need for this cushion is urgent, for in 1962 migrants averaged only 116 days of farm work during the year, and all farm workers only 137 days. This is an area of unmet legislative need.

Similarly, the original intent of laws providing for workmen's compensation, for work-related injuries, was to cover all workers. However, to date less than twenty states have included farm workers in their accident compensation laws, and most of this coverage is limited and voluntary rather than compulsory. Yet agriculture is a dangerous occupation, ranking third or fourth in the National Safety Council's annual analyses of the most hazardous occupations. Here, too, children are particularly vulnerable. California recorded in 1961 a total of 426 disabling injuries to youthful farm workers under 18. In addition, a new danger, chemical poisoning, has come to light. Several deaths among peach pickers in Stanislaus County, California, were reported in September as due to the poison from parathion sprays. Though the poisoning is often mistaken for heat prostration or food poisoning, the California Department of Industrial Relations reported more than 3,000 diagnosed poisonings between 1951 and 1960; 22 adults and 63 children died.

In 1956, Congress amended the Interstate Commerce Act to provide for regulation of the interstate transportation of migrants; but the I.C.C.'s jurisdiction is limited to transportation for more than 75 miles and only if transportation is *across* state boundaries. Also in 1956, the President's Committee drafted a proposed code to provide information to the states for use in enactment of legislation on transportation of migrants *within* state boundaries, but the states have lagged in adopting such protection. In many places, farm workers are packed into all kinds of vehicles, and horrible accidents occur. Last September 17th, 31 *braceros* (imported Mexican workers) died in a bus accident in California, and eleven days later 39 others were injured in the same state. Across the country in Florida, early in the season, 23 migrants drowned when the bus they were riding went into a canal. The dead included women, and children. The wire report of the accident commented matter-of-factly, "Negro children often accompany their parents to the fields."

It appears that farm workers have been treated as less than human, as less deserving than other Americans, for three hundred years. When Negro farm workers were slaves, at least their owners had an investment in them and might look after their welfare and provide some kind of year-round food and shelter. Since the Civil War, sharecroppers and tenant farmers have had a poor life. With increasing mechanization, and the displacing of hundreds of thousands of these poor and uneducated farm people from the land, migrancy has increased and their security, little though it was, has decreased.

Why have the big farmer lobbies fought against, and continued to fight against, laws to upgrade farm workers? They would answer that higher wages would drive them

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out of business, that they face an intolerable cost-price squeeze. Yet, according to Labor Department wage hearings, even doubling farm wages would increase the cost of fruits and vegetables and other commodities by only a few pennies.

Why still the harvest of shame? Congress apparently feels the pressure of the comparatively few growers who profit by exploitation of their workers above the protest of the millions of us who share the blame as we enjoy the harvest. When church, labor and other organized groups and individuals decide the time has come to include the presently "excluded," Congress will no doubt act. As Gunnar Myrdal has pointed out in his *Challenge to Affluence:* "Never in the history of America has there been a greater and more complete identity between the ideals of social justice and the requirements of economic progress." Passage of these bills to protect farm workers is not only just; it will also provide a tremendous and needed boost to our whole economy.

In his concluding narration in "Harvest of Shame," Edward R. Murrow said: "The migrants have no lobby. Only an enlightened, aroused and perhaps angered public opinion can do anything about the migrants. The migrants you have seen have the strength to harvest your fruit and vegetables. They do not have the strength to influence legislation. Maybe we do."

"A Moralist Dedicated to a Perversion of Values"

The Uses of Genet

JAMES FINN

FROM a conversation about five or six years ago, I remember saying that though we were being treated to pale derivations of Jean Genet, I found it hard to imagine his narrative works being published in this country. I wasn't alone in this faulty judgment. On the dust jacket of the 1954 Olympia Press edition of *The Thief's Journal,* one can read that "the day when his books will be published in full in England or America is not yet in sight." Now, less than ten years later, we have not only Genet's most acclaimed work, *Our Lady of the Flowers* (translated by Bernard Frechtman, Grove Press, $6.50), but all 625 pages of Jean-Paul Sartre's monstrous study, *Saint Genet* (translated by Bernard Frechtman, Braziller, $8.50).

Genet's plays have met with some success in small productions across the country and a movie entitled "The Balcony" offered a simulacrum of one of them. It is no longer true, therefore, to say that he is unknown in this country. The publication of his narrative works is possible, however, only because our standards of what is permissible to publish have altered rapidly in the last several years. Those who regret this shift in convention are not likely to welcome the productions of Genet, for, whatever our final judgment of their value, they are obscene, blasphemous and scatological and they celebrate theft, betrayal and homosexuality.

Our Lady of the Flowers was written for Genet's own delectation in a prison cell where his only companions were the pictures of criminals he had attached to the back of a sheet of regulations. "No one can tell whether I shall get out of here, or, if I do, when it will be. So, with the help of my lovers, I am going to write a story. My heroes are they, posted on the wall, they and I who am here, locked up. As you read on, the characters, and Divine too, and Culafroy, will fall from the wall onto my pages like dead leaves, to fertilize my tale." Divine-Culafroy (they are one and the one is Genet) is joined by pimps, thieves and faggots: by Our Lady of the Flowers who, at sixteen, killed an old man quite gratuitously and who, a number of years later, confesses the crime with equal gratuitousness; by Darling Daintyfoot, a pimp who is Divine's lover and, though he is to remain young throughout the book, whose destiny it is to become the father and lover of Our Lady of the Flowers; by the Negro murderer, Seck Gorgui; and by others who bear equally appropriate names.

Genet provides a continuity for these imagined characters and a habitation, but the continuity is sometimes broken off (as Genet achieves his onanistic pleasure), interrupted or reversed and the habitation is bound to realities by very tenuous and elastic threads. Genet the character, Genet the author, is the lord of this universe and he manipulates the events and puppets at his pleasure. In developing various situations he constantly if indirectly solicits the collusion of the reader, and on occasion the invitation is direct. When Darling and Our Lady first meet, for example, Genet addresses the reader: "I leave you free to imagine any dialogue you please. Choose whatever may charm you. Have it, if

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you like, that they hear the voice of the blood, or that they fall in love at first sight, or that Darling, by indisputable signs invisible to the vulgar eye, betrays the fact that he is a thief. . . . Conceive the wildest improbabilities."

This, of course, is Genet's own method and purpose of composition. But, intimate with his own characters, his thoughts are theirs, their being is his. Of Culafroy's temptation to suicide he writes, "Certain attacks brought him so close to death that I wonder how he escaped it, what imperceptible shock—coming from whom?—pushed him back from the brink. But one day there would be, within arm's reach, a phial of poison, and I would have only to put it to my mouth; and then to wait." The shift from third to first person frequently takes place in the novel even where it is not grammatically indicated. And the reflections of the characters are the reflections of Genet. "To escape from horror, as we have said, bury yourself in it." From the text, it is difficult to tell whether these words should properly be attributed to Our Lady or to the author of *Our Lady*; it doesn't matter, they belong to both. *Our Lady* is both an escape from horror and part of the horror in which Genet has buried himself.

IN OFFERING the book to a public, Genet does not emerge from his solipsistic solitude so much as he invites the reader, at least momentarily, to share it, to bury himself in the same horror. Why should any reader accept the invitation? A pure formalism, an appeal to art for art's sake, a reliance on elegant style is the least sufficient reason. In fact, Genet has neatly undercut the possibility of acceptance on such grounds. *Our Lady* insists throughout that acceptance will be on its own difficult terms, a particularized vision of reality with its own developed set of values.

Genet writes of Divine: "A morality is being born, which is certainly not the usual morality . . . though it is a morality all the same, with its Good and its Evil. Divine is not beyond good and evil, there where the saint must live. And I, more gentle than a wicked angel, lead her by the hand."

If we couple this with one more statement we will get a possible intimation of where Genet would lead. "The impulse to create a work of art is felt when, in certain persons, the passive awe provoked by sacred beings or events is transformed into a desire to express that awe in a rite of worship or homage, and to be fit homage, this rite must be beautiful. . . . " This quotation from W. H. Auden indicates the direction Genet has taken, for he has seized on certain kinds of persons and events around which he has constructed his ritualized homage. His sacred beings? In *The Thief's Journal* he writes, "How much more intoxicating, to the point of dizziness, falling and vomiting, would be the love I bear him, if Lucien were a thief and traitor. . . . I would like to bind myself to some iron monster, smiling though icy, who kills, steals, and delivers father and mother to the judges." This is the exemplar. His sacred events? Almost any gesture which recalls to him the "virtues" of those on whom he lavishes attention.

Only extensive quotation could do justice to the kind of beauty Genet invokes in his ritual, for he is a master of metaphor and gains great effects by elaborately developed analogies. Let two short quotations bear an unfair burden.

"Darling went up the stairs two at a time, an ample and forthright ascension, which may lead, after the roof, on steps of blue air, up to heaven. In the garret. . . . "

"On the mantelpiece, a tube of phenobarbital lying on a small pointed wooden frigate is enough to detach the room from the stone block of the building, to suspend it like a cage between heaven and earth."

Genet leads himself, his characters, his reader toward this heaven of transformed values where his heroes are invested with grace and beauty and stature, with a high grandeur and then—sometimes by a sudden plunge into argot, sometimes by a gradual unwinding of a metaphor, sometimes by sly insinuation—he returns them to the cowardice, the thefts, the perverted couplings, the filth from which those values derive, on which they depend. It is not simply a reversal of values that Genet offers us. He is both too intelligent and too subtle simply to upend an accepted moral order, for another moralist would have little trouble setting it on its feet again. And no critic of Genet, whether condemnatory, as is François Mauriac, or commendatory, as is Sartre, has made such an attempt.

What Genet *does* attempt and what Sartre seeks to explicate is immensely more complicated. Sartre has brought from his capacious philosophical, psychological and literary arsenal a formidable array of analytical tools in order, he says, to indicate how far psychoanalytic interpretation and Marxist explanation can go and "to demonstrate that freedom alone can account for a person in his totality." How wonderful for Sartre that there is a Genet, that he was saved the trouble of inventing him. For Genet invented *himself*, or in Sartrean terms, created himself. In his writings (and, according to Sartre, in his conversation) Genet affirms that within the freedom allotted him he formed the man he is as a deliberate affront to the world into which he was cast.

With a brilliant dialectic involving the Self and the Other, appearance and reality, subject and object Sartre does enlighten us about the genesis and development of Genet as thief, homosexual and writer. And some of his analyses of particular passages are remarkable and persuasive. The study, however, is more valuable for what it tells us about Sartre than what it tells us about Genet.

It is easy to do Sartre an injustice by extracting from

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a developing, many-sided examination what are, in fact, partial statements. I shall try to avoid this, while asking how one is to evaluate statements like this:

"In the case of those who condemn Genet most severely. I would say that homosexuality is their constant and constantly rejected temptation, the object of their innermost hatred. . . . "

"I maintain that inversion is the effect of neither a prenatal choice nor an endocrinian malformation nor even the passive and determined result of complexes."

These statements would be difficult to disprove, but flat assertion does not convince, and they become important in Sartre's analysis.

ONE MIGHT, for example, condemn Genet because, to quote Sartre, the only reason for the universe of *Our Lady* "is to express Genet—who has written only in order to be read by Genet—and to call him constantly to love of Genet"; because Genet "wants to make money from his writings, but on condition that the money be obtained by fraud: the purchaser will derive no advantage from his acquisition, it is unusable"; because "Genet gives us *nothing:* when we shut the book, we shall know no more the we did before about prison or ruffians or the human heart"; because *Our Lady* is like "decaying meat that turns into a preserve; when we poke it, the blood runs and we find ourselves in a belly amidst gas bubbles and lumps of entrails."

There are other reasons to distrust Sartre. He suggests, for example, that Genet might have been one of the Just, against whom he now directs his energies, "had his foster father worked in a nationalized branch of industry," and, for another example, that in lovemaking between man and woman "the very way in which he makes love reflects his economic situation and his pride in earning a living." Sartre seems to be operating with a highly deductive system here and the principles from which he deduces are, to luxuriate in understatement, dubious.

To make the charge direct, Sartre has not resolved, even for himself, the real and slippery ambiguities Genet presents. In his fine essay *What Is Literature?* Sartre wrote "It is not true that one writes for himself. That would be the worst blow. . . . There is no art except for and by others." In *Saint Genet,* he says "Does Genet write without expecting to be read? Is he already thinking of publishing? I imagine that he himself does not know." And in a chapter entitled "Please Use Genet Properly" he expresses further difficulties. One of them is that we cannot appreciate Genet unless we are shocked, unless we allow ourselves to be "naively indignant." But even with full unshielded exposure to Genet we cannot allow ourselves—and Sartre can certainly not allow himself—to remain in a state of shock.

Sartre has come out of his shock by using Genet as an exemplar, as a test case, as a proving ground for many of his developed theories of Being, existence, sex, art. And some of his theories do very well. Those of us who are lesser may profit from Sartre's lesson, for Genet does pose hard problems that are worth struggling with. "Chesterton said that the modern world is full of Christian ideas run wild," Sartre reminds us, and he adds "*Our Lady of the Flowers* would surely have confirmed him in his view."

Sartre is quite right; it is not an accident that he refers, even though disparagingly at times, to Claudel, Maritain and Mauriac. Though none of these authors would appreciate the statement, the comparisons between Genet and Mauriac could be extended, for each was captured by his childhood, each is a sustained moralist, each is an analyst of evil, each finds the dramatic tensions of good and evil most focused in the flesh, each could subscribe to this sentence, "He did not know that the importance of any event in our life lies only in the resonance it sets up within us, only in the degree to which it makes us move toward asceticism," which actually appears in *Our Lady of the Flowers.* Genet is a moralist dedicated to a perversion of values and by his dedication he can show that part of life which is horror. I would assert, for example, that he shows us not that "Hell is others" as Sartre says but that "Hell is the absence of the other," which is a Christian concept.

It is interesting to note that in Wallace Fowlie's *Guide to Contemporary French Literature* (1957) Genet is referred to only three times, that in Henri Peyre's more comprehensive *The Contemporary French Novel* (1955), Sartre is given twenty-three pages, Mauriac twenty-one, Gide seventeen and Genet one paragraph. Presumably this represents the judgments of highly informed and sensitive critics. Is Genet's recent surge of attention simply a function of a more general interest in and tolerance for the corrupt matter with which he deals? If so, we can at least accept the master and dispense with unformed works that are failures even as imitations, and the French may let die their revival of interest in the dreary words of de Sade. For Sartre is convincing when he says that "genius is not a gift but the way out that one invents in desperate cases." Genet is a desperate case and he is inventing a way out.

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THE STAGE

Epitaph for Lincoln Center

"ALTHOUGH they naturally will as one man deny it," George Jean Nathan once wrote, "the majority of drama critics, unlike the majority of literary critics, are always prejudiced in favor of reputations." This bias has never been more apparent than in the journalistic response to the events at Lincoln Center's temporary theater. To a disaster of absolute proportions there has been a response of nearly absolute evasion, double-talk and special pleading. There are doubtless reviewers who really do believe that Arthur Miller's "After the Fall" is a masterpiece, but there are more who have clearly felt trapped between the heavy counter-pressures of truth and reputation. And with the addition to the repertoire of the final two plays of the company's first season, the twisting and squirming have reached the level of St. Vitus dance.

Even the dullest reviewer has found it difficult to remain unaware that "Marco Millions" is considered one of O'Neill's worst plays. But with that knowledge as a floor, the comment has mainly consisted in making out some kind of case, any kind, for the work's nevertheless being put on, or in dwelling on some presumed glories of the production. The truth, which is to be found of course at the exact point where the reputations involved in this scandal leave off, is that there is no conceivable case for reviving a work of such radical ineptitude, and that the production is if anything, more incomprehensible still.

O'Neill wrote "Marco Millions" in the 20's as an antidote to that era's hunger for expansion and its economic idolatry. His was an effort to compose a fable that would do for the imagination what Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt* and *Dodsworth* were doing for the straightforward sociological eye. Materialism was crowding out the spirit, and O'Neill's Marco Polo, a man of consummately naive appetite and acquisitiveness, a sharp dealer with the bloom of innocence, was intended as a cautionary figure. If you lust after progress and the piling up of profit, the play informed its audience, you will leave behind you a broken-hearted Princess Kukachin and a disillusioned Kublai Khan, or their equivalents, and you will also confirm all wise men in their conviction that the East has its finger on spiritual treasures our Western grossness will not even let us come near.

It is all incredibly banal, dreary and forced, when it is not being damply lyrical or shudderingly romantic. O'Neill had a hard time *knowing* anything (in his last plays he did come to know himself partially and was thus able to write true dramas), but in "Marco Millions" his understanding, of the East, the West, the self, love

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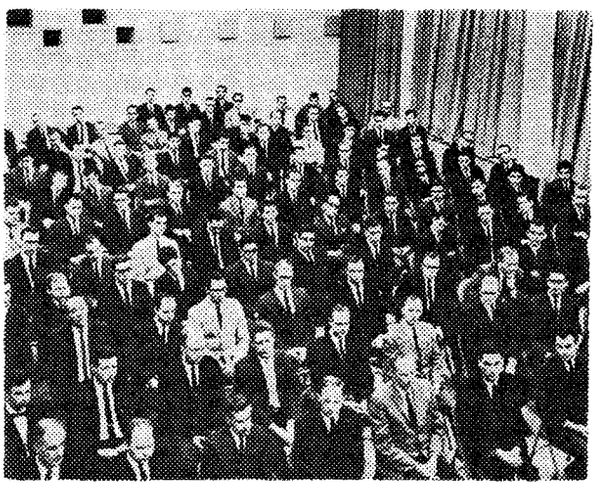

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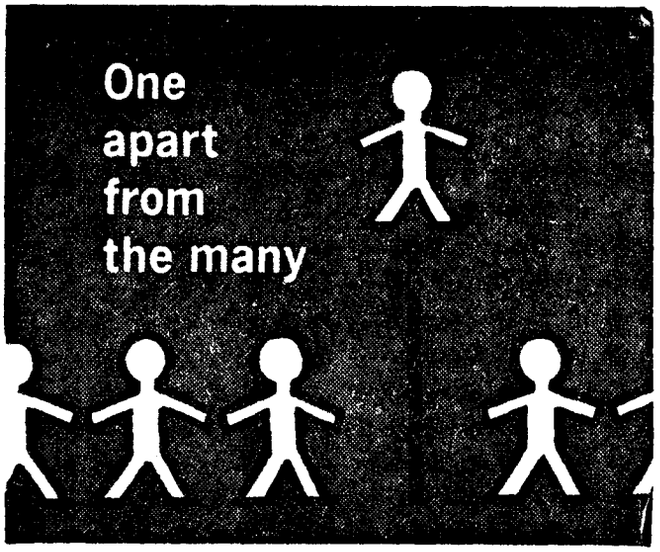

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and the relations between ego and appetite, was at its barest. When this intellectual failure is coupled with a failure of language matched in the O'Neill canon only by that of "Lazarus Laughed" and "Dynamo," the rout is complete.

But for the Lincoln Center Repertory Company no play simply routs itself; it can always be pushed towards absolute debacle by a production which seizes on its worst elements. "A Chinese fashion-show," someone in the audience said of what José Quintero has mounted, and the term is as good as any. As for the acting. there is only one source of non-embarrassment, David Wayne in a wry, capable performance as the Khan, and one source of amusement, Joseph Wiseman doing his demented sleep-walker's act at the imperial court. But they are isolated in a sea of imbecility whose main tides are Zohra Lampert's Princess Kukachin at Sarah Lawrence and Hal Holbrook's Marco Polo in Illinois.

The third nail in the Lincoln Center coffin was driven in by S. N. Behrman with a major assist from Elia Kazan. Behrman, who in his heyday was an accomplished light artificer is now, in his seventies, a man who hears things wrong. His new play, "But for Whom Charlie," is about integrity, as it is threatened and defended within the walls of a foundation whose purpose is to help deserving but non-commercial authors. Radiating out from this nucleus are strands of thematic material having to do with sex, love and manners. And it is all sadly wrong; people do not speak the way Behrman thinks they do (a woman does not say, "Just a moment while I slip into my coat"); sophistication has passed beyond this representative exchange: "You're a lecherous old man." "Course. Why should the young have it all?"

If the surface is deficient, the structure is non-existent, a string of encounters perpetually dissolving through lack of pressure and organic connection. The reviewers were mostly aware of this architectonic disability, but they protected their stake in reputations by going on at length about Behrman's incidental virtues, his mellow wisdom and vivacious *obiter dicta* upon experience. The latter may be measured quite fairly I think, by these examples: "Life is monotonous," "Everything is funny to me because everything is funny."

As for Kazan's direction, it seems accurate to say that it is no worse than his work on "After the Fall." He either has no more ideas or he has suffered such a depletion of spirit that he is allowing his performers to handle their jobs the best way they can. Without compass or helmsman Jason Robards, Jr., Salome Jens and Ralph Meeker drift all over the stage indulging in their special vices—Robards turning ever closer to petrifaction, Miss Jens to emotive elephantiasis and Meeker to complete illegibility.

But perhaps the most telling revelation of what has been going on at Lincoln Center is the set for "But for

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Whom Charlie." The open stage clearly will not lend itself to a domestic drama of this kind, but Jo Mielziner, as superannuated in his art as Behrman is in his, has bucked the odds. A two-leveled affair, with furniture out of a Castro Convertible showroom, blue and yellow floors with green scatter rugs and doors opening on the void, the set is a masterpiece of ugliness, the quintessence of physical miscalculation and esthetic perversion. That of course makes it consonant with the larger perversion which the Lincoln Center company has now placed in its entirety before our eyes.

RICHARD GILMAN

THE SCREEN

And the Grandeur

NO DOUBT the children should have their day or week at the movies. And this is it. For one reason or the other, some of the films reviewed this week may even interest the grown-ups, especially those adults who prefer not to work too hard while being entertained.

I'm sure producer Samuel Bronston didn't plan his latest opus, "The Fall of the Roman Empire," as a children's movie, but that's what it comes out as, with its plethora of battle scenes showing the armies of Marcus Aurelius and then Commodus trying to hold the empire together in the second century. Adults may be somewhat upset that they can't tell which side is which when the Romans are fighting the Barbarians in the north or the Armenians and Persians in the east, but young fry probably won't mind since the battles are vigorous and seemingly never-ending. Furthermore the film's hero, a military leader played by Stephen Boyd, is handsome and tough in battle and tender in his love scenes with Marcus Aurelius' daughter, played by Sophia Loren in a series of lovely costumes.

The real actors in the film should be able to hold the interest of a mature audience whenever they appear in between battle scenes; and they succeed in carrying forward whatever political and thoughtful aspects can be found in the screenplay's rambling plot. Alec Guinness is properly majestic and stoic as Marcus Aurelius during the last days of his reign in 180 A.D. While the film doesn't mention his persecution of the Christians, it does show him as a high-minded ruler who even quotes from his *Meditations:* "Is it not in the nature of fig trees to give figs? So come death." His greatest mistake, according to this liberty-taking historical movie, is in not naming a successor. So, after his funeral (in one of the most beautiful scenes ever shown in cinema) his son, Commodus, takes over. Christopher Plummer plays this licentious emperor to the hilt—and plays it exceedingly well without even displaying a touch of ham in Commodus' vicious villainy or pursuit of pleasure. This restraint is amazing in a lengthy spectacular epic of this kind; and also unusual, considering the period, is the absence of dancing girls and Christians being thrown to the lions. Among other assets in "The Fall" are the good performances of James Mason as a Greek philosopher and Anthony Quayle as an elder gladiator, the stunning color photography throughout, and the fine sets showing the Roman Forum as well as the Empire's hinterlands (all shot in Spain). I wish that the plot were better or at least had some idea as to where it was going other than to suggest the beginning of the end of the vast Empire. It should have deepened its characterizations and followed Marcus' advice: "If men do not think, read, and talk to each other, they are no longer men." Most of the film's faults, even its dullness, won't bother children who may see the picture with some profit as well as pleasure.

IT IS always hard to recommend comedies, but I should think little tots and maybe a few big ones may warm up to "The Incredible Mr. Limpet," in which Don Knotts plays a meek, hen-pecked piscatorial enthusiast who turns into a fish. The opening scenes are done with live actors; the fishy episodes are done in animated cartoons; and every now and then, the actors and cartoons are skillfully shown together. The story, based on a novel by Theodore Pratt, has the fish Mr. Limpet (who looks remarkably like Knotts) becoming a hero during World War II. It is rather amusing in its fishy way. The moral, which may appeal to some, is that fish have more fun than people.

ALSO AMUSING for its technical tricks is "The Brass Bottle," in which Tony Randall, as an architect, rubs a bottle and out jumps a genie, played by very large Burl Ives who is ever anxious not only to do Tony's bidding but also be a few leaps ahead of his master. The genie is a help, but in his enthusiasm he goes too far in conjuring up elephants, Arabian slaves, and even a real-estate development that gets Tony into a peck of trouble. Some of this whimsey wears a little thin, but the kids will probably enjoy every minute of its mixture of today's reality and yesterday's Arabian Nights.

CHARLES G. Finney's very adult allegory called *The Circus of Dr. Lao,* with its fantastic compound of psychology, sex, and common sense, was decidedly not for the junior trade. However, the movie made from it by George Pal, "The Seven Faces of Dr. Lao," is a childish affair aimed at youngsters who may be delighted with its technical tricks as well as the fascinating make-up and costumes worn by Tony Randall (again!) in his seven roles. As Dr. Lao, Tony, in Chinese make-up and garb, comes to the little town of Abalone with his circus which consists mostly of mythological figures in side shows. The people of Abalone need to be helped and told off as Dr.

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Lao does in some of his disguises as Medusa, Apollonius, Pan, Merlin, and a serpent. While the film is rather slow-moving and platitudinous at times, children, waiting for the next bit of magic, won't notice its thinness. And its sugar-coated moral may even open new vistas to them: the whole world is a circus in which the rainbow's beauty, dust's chemistry, and just being alive are fantastic.

WHAT Walt Disney, who is certainly one of cinema's greats, needs most of all is an adviser. His two new films show this more than ever before. In "The Misadventures of Merlin Jones," delightful Tommy Kirk is a college student who's a budding scientist. In this movie's first episode, Tommy learns to read other people's thoughts—an experiment that leads to lots of fun. But in the next episode, Tommy delves into hypnosis with strange results. Amateur hypnosis is a field that young people and adults should leave alone; and any encouragement of this dangerous subject should be strictly avoided at all costs.

SINCE I am definitely not an animal lover and am even more strongly opposed to the silly behavior of most people with animals, I writhed during "A Tiger Walks," in which a carnival tiger escapes, kills his sadistic handler, and throws the town and countryside into panic. When the sheriff's little girl sides with the tiger and "Save That Tiger" clubs are formed, it soon becomes evident that a tiger, no matter how dangerous and menacing, is more important than people. It's true that many of the people involved in this unbalanced picture are not particularly admirable, particularly the politicians, commercially-minded newsmen and broadcasters, and selfish entrepreneurs, but even men at their worst are more important than tigers. This is something sentimental children will not understand. No doubt kids will love that movie and love that tiger, so prepare yourself for be-kind-to-wild-beasts week. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

A Remarkable Bias in Favor of Man's Unconscious Self

Selected Writings. By Herbert Read. Horizon. $7.50.

by David Littlejohn

THIS HEALTHY, seventieth-birthday selection of the essays (and, less pertinently, the poetry) of Sir Herbert Read proves him to be the most single-minded and doctrinaire of major living critics; and, what is more surprising, one of the most useful. For over forty years, in over seventy books, he has been insisting on his creed of—what can one call it?—Psychological Humanism, Freedom of the Personality, the Primacy of the Irrational. There are shifts, there are slips, minor self-contradictions and self-corrections, but it is all, all phenomenally of a piece: it all weaves to a single pattern. And yet it is all worth hearing. He is always partly right.

Read believes in the primary value of Man, but a special kind of man: man as a fully-alive, integrated, self-expressing "personality," man free, coherent, unrepressed. He ingested very early the findings of Freud (and, to a degree, of Jung and the *Gestalt* psychologists), and made them his—as he has helped to make them ours—in a lasting, a determining way. They have never left him, nor has he ever lost that first excitement.

This early discovery impressed a remarkable bias in favor of the Irrational, of man's Unconscious self and all its works and pomps: in art, in literature, in education, in society. Marxism also left its wound, around 1935: the two longer essays in this volume, "In Defense of Shelley" and "Surrealism and the Romantic Principle"—both of 1936—bear witness in their bullying, hortatory exuberance to the fusion and confusion of these two influences. But while his Marxist dogma has vaporized into a strangely prophetic social idealism, his near-unqualified celebration of the Unconscious remains; it grew, it flourished, it bore strange fruit.

In literature, it led to Read's championing of the English Romantic poets. to a preference for Kafka and the "Arabian Nights" over Dickens and Hardy, for Edward Lear over Tennyson; to an insistence on Shakespeare's *irrational* genius. Classicism was not only bad art, it was *not* art; it was the repressed and unhealthy child of capitalism and cerebralism. More usefully, perhaps, this same ruling idea led to his brilliant analyses of poetic inspiration, his drawing-out of Coleridge by the means of Freud.

In the visual arts, this bias for the Irrational led to his defensive and vigorous leadership of the Surrealist cause—on the whole, one suspects, an unfortunate banner to have chosen. His "Surrealism" essay, like the Shelley, is too outraged and offensive to make altogether convincing sense, too politically inspired by the hot air of the thirties. But the world of modern art is still Read's most congenial critical ground, and in his more

---

Time

The unconquered dimension
the poised and ordered
oh uncontrollable,
time abides,
the beat in our blood
the tuning of the day
each field's inconstant fashioner
watchman for the city
and for the wheeling sky
all men's faces' mentor,
stern to beauty
kindly to the kind.

SISTER MARY JANET, S.C.L.

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temperate surveys—there are two of these here, plus an eloquent appreciation of Henry Moore—he justifies his reputation as (with Kenneth Clark) its most lucid interpreter.

The essays on politics and education that make up the last quarter of this volume bear further witness to Read's devotion to his *idée fixe*. His ideal society, his ideal system of education are both based on the primacy of the individual personality, on a maximizing of the intensity of total personal experience and the means to healthy self-expression. This leads him, politically, to dream of a decentralized, "natural" anarcho-syndicalism, free of statutory law, a central government, a competitive economy, and—hence—of crime. Love and mutual benefit are the rule of life; workers (in little William-Morrisy "guilds") own and run the economy; men are rewarded (by somebody) on the basis of their "creative ability." Religion, he insists, be it a revitalized primitive Christianity or some new, unthought-of mythos, must be maintained, to satisfy unconscious cravings.

His educational schemes are what one, knowing Read, might expect. He would balance the post-Baconian (and post-Sputnik) "intellectual" bias of education—it sometimes seems he would replace it—with an education designed to develop the *other* half-man, the instinctual, the imaginative, for his own and society's mental health.

Throughout, Read's *corrective* reminders of the buried, the other half-man are stimulating and wise, they are necessary. But he goes too far. Reason may indeed have been overemphasized, but it cannot yet be dispensed with. Men go on responding with deep delight and wonder to rational, "classical" art. Literature, at least, must make some logical sense, if it is to be read. Analytic thinking, of the sort the Irrationalist Read here so brilliantly displays, must be carefully taught. A world cannot be run, nor such books written, by healthy free-associating fingerpainters.

Read's interesting bias in favor of "Man," of man's psychic health, that is, renders him often critically unfit. He will admire a work, and celebrate its artist—Shelley and the Surrealists, for example—because, and simply because, it reveals the Unconscious; because it has helped the artist to an integrated wholeness, to an unrepressed expression of his neurosis. Now, this is all very well for the artist; and, were we all part-time "artists" as Read recommends (a grand idea), it would doubtless be well for society: no one since Ruskin has made so strong a case for Art. But on the question of objective standards, of better and worse, of art from the spectator's, the responder's point of view, Read's approach leaves a great deal unsaid.

Moreover, a correlative, re-corrective case could, perhaps should be made for the value of discipline, of rational control, of the energizing challenge of imposed restraint—in art, in life, in society. Read has, I think, altogether too much confidence in the "goodness" of our elemental impulses, too much assurance in the evil of restraint. The greatness of any artist—of any man, surely—is in part a function of the conventions, the necessary disciplines that surround him.

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But this is to celebrate moral character, or ordered society, of the work of art itself: in all of these Read is less interested than in the healthy free spirit of man. It is, in fact, this very "humanistic" monomania that produces his extraordinary value: he may offer few "practical" schemes, establish few "exact" and total critical judgments. But in his very limitation of vision he can force *us* to crack contingent walls, to see beyond our own complacent and "rational" conclusions, to see grandly and new. After one essay, two, we may still laugh and reject; but the more we read, the more we learn to listen. By the time the book is finished, the cover closed, the honest reader will have come vastly to respect this man who stimulates while outraging, who has such firm and lively hold on his part of the truth.

The Ordinary

At War as Children. By Kit Reed. Farrar, Straus. $4.50.

by Carol Ohmann

IN THE OPENING scene of *At War as Children,* the narrator Denny McLeod and a handful of her friends sway "above the ground in a child's canvas trampoline, eating chocolate pie." They are not children; neither are they re-enacting a time they have passed. Rather, in her second novel, Kit Reed tells a story of young adults who deliberately create a world of easy playfulness and camaraderie which they never knew when they were really children. The "ride" on the trampoline is followed by others—on a rollercoaster, a merry-go-round, a swan boat, a pogo stick. The chocolate pie is only the first in a repertory of sweets that also includes cotton candy, popcorn, Jujyfruits, and orange freezes.

But such a listing of props may be misleading. A purchase on Denny McLeod's world may not be had simply for the price of a ticket to the loop-the-loop. Pat Castine graduates from Yale and J. Press; in New York, later, he carries his attaché case "smartly." Katherine in her teens fluffs her "dirty hair" and flirts outrageously over the wall of her boarding school; in class she fixes the nuns who teach her with a "cataleptic stare of indifference." Bunker Swift comes out of Annapolis looking "invulnerable" in his Navy blues. If they all attend minutely to dress and speech and gesture and if they choose to ceremonialize even lunch at the Museum of Modern Art, the point is not that they are, or wish to be, snobs. The rituals they practice, the rites of their "long childhood together," are meant, like others, to bring them into community, to heal them and save them.

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they were children indeed. Denny and Bunker were both Navy juniors, protected at first by the routines of Navy life, by mothers meeting after separation and reciting a familiar "litany" of Navy names and by fathers in khaki departing and returning on schedule. With the war, the fathers begin to go out from San Francisco and Denny begins to know that all the fathers are in danger even though hers goes "to sea with silver-framed pictures of [her] and [her] mother, and a St. Christopher's medal tucked in his cap."

To this knowledge, Denny and Bunker find an antidote in "war games." They distance the real war with their imaginative one, changing gloriously at will from bombardiers to marines to counterspies. Even when a telegram comes for one of them, and even when Bunker's older brother Pearson shouts the news of death in the Pacific at both of them, Bunker and Denny go on with their games. The rites of their young adulthood are games as well. Living by whatsoever things are "shoe" or "great" or finely "indifferent," Denny, Bunker, Katherine, and Pat are players who meet the world's tumult and its silences with carefully tended insouciance. How well, and how ill, their style serves them becomes the major concern of the novel.

The expertise with which the narrative is handled in *At War as Children* is not unexpected. Mrs. Reed has written regularly for science fiction magazines and for the slicks. What is surprising is the seriousness and richness of theme in this second novel. Its predecessor, *Mother Isn't Dead She's Only Sleeping,* satirized old America's quest for youth in Florida resorts. It was deft and sprightly but not very much more than that. Thinness, it is true, sometimes attends *At War as Children,* when its diction, for example, merges into playfulness instead of criticizing it (then characters buy a "box full of gooies," "yap" at each other, meet a "pair of marrieds," "slam" down into chairs). And when the familiar niceties of popular fiction intrude (a passionate scene on a summer porch leads to the comment: "I don't know what would have happened if Bunker hadn't opened the door just then").

But, far more arresting than these moments in the novel are others whose essence appears in a chapter describing a visit to a zoo. Denny, Pat Castine, Norty Jarboe, even Pearson Swift find one another's counterparts gaily, irresponsibly in the various animals they see. At the chapter's end, however, the day's gaiety is dispelled by Denny's "persistent, lunatic vision of Norty as a sloth, long hair matted, tail curled under, blind face to the sky." The intensely felt metamorphosis of the ordinary into the macabre seems to me the special mark of Mrs. Reed's talent. In *At War as Children,* it informs her judgment of her generation.

REVIEWERS

David Littlejohn is a member of the faculty at the University of California.

Carol B. Ohmann, a previous contributor, received her doctorate in English from Radcliffe.

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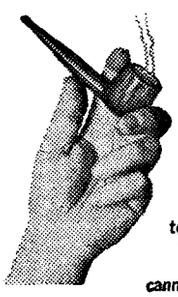

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